1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1964
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only by kinship persons. Theory does not deduct from the powers of [illegible] designated relatives any portion of the right to punish; there are no [illegible] of modern relationships. In practice, however, theory is ignored. True siblings and parental siblings are almost as free as parents themselves in rapping children on the head, in pulling ears, twisting noses, tying up a child, and other such forms of sustenance. Furthermore, older boys whose dependencies may make them annoying to adults may be struck by anyone who catches them in the act, and adults are free in their use of the loose kinship terminology to justify such corporal punishment.

Since parents are not nurturing or idealized figures, physical punishment from them is probably not as acceptable as it might otherwise be. And since corporal punishment may be meted out by any intimate adult who cannot even theoretically claim to be nurturing, it is not to be wondered at that children are resentful and fight back when they are punished.

In addition to corporal punishment, teasing, ridicule, and deception are widely used, not only in disciplining children but also as favorite forms of amusement, especially among young ones. I have seen youths in their late teens and early twenties send boys on field's errands and deceive them with false promises of rewards for services, and then guffaw with laughter when the credulous child returned. Passing the locomotive one day called to an eight-year-old girl whom we passed on the trail, saying he had just left some honey at her house and she had better hurry home for it. Actually, we had taken some ripe breadfruit to her house but it had been eaten up before we left. On another occasion, a man of about twenty-eight sent a twelve-year-old boy to fetch a bunch of bananas he said he had left at the foot of the village. In return he promised the boy six of them. The boy raced gleefully to the indicated spot but returned saying he had not found them. He was sent off again, and when he returned the second time he realized that he had been deceived. A group of six or seven grown men were sitting about watching the procedure and laughing heartily, as the boy's wisdom dawned and anger.

Under such circumstances it is scarcely surprising that lying is taken as a matter of course in Arimadang. To say "You lie" is considered a statement of fact, not an insult or a reproach. People frequently remark, "He speaks with his mouth, but we do not know what he has in his heart." To speak without regard for accuracy but not necessarily with intent to deceive for one's own advantage is called "talking at random." The most commonplace statements are doubted. When I told friends

1:De Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
571 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact,
Fanam the Interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was
reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way;
we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *fal hatol*,
571 to persuade with false promises; *-kol*, to persevere; *-kora*, to deceive
with threats or intent to frighten; *kkle*, to shout (distort) meaning, to
speak crookedly; *-tina*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafakkla*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tanal nanga*,
to talk at random without regard for truth; *-wara*, to deny falsely. This
is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pat-
§6 terns of entwining spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost
early in life, permits throughout adult experiences and reaches its full-
est expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of
finance.

§4.5 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the thiev-
§17 ishness techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
§35 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however,
bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. For-
merly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
§40 slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately
twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very fre-
quent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being
bought and sold by people from Ailoneberg, so that the practice must
have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children
of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be
stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retri-
bution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved
blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose par-
ents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A
person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret
and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a slavery and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed
usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or
two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally
they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These
slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
§47 of the family, but a special term (*malya*) was applied to them.
§54 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

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177 case, however, is that twenty-five of the thirty-six kin quarrels were
178 between affinal kin including husbands and wives, co-wives, and more
remote affinal relatives.

182 In all these outbursts of rage I never saw an Atimelangger lose his
temper at an inanimate object. Even at animals they shout loudly and
harshly but without the sense of real anger that is evidenced toward
human beings. This suggests for one thing a less anthropomorphic cast
of mind than among ourselves. For another it suggests no very power-
ful reserves of anger and no latent hostilities of such magnitude that
they take any avenue of discharge, regardless of reality. Also, it may be
attributable to the far greater ease and frequency of partial discharge
of anger permitted by the society. These suggestions are substantiated
further by the brevity of sulking periods. Sulking does occur and there
is no doubt that grudges are held, but only in rare cases do they last
for more than two or three days. The long periods often required to
reach an agreement place a premium on being able to maintain a certain
pitch of anger. At the end of a prolonged litigation anger has so far
evaporated that the winner will willingly kill a chicken or a pig to eat
with his opponents and the judge.

184 There are a number of more or less formalized outlets for anger that
185 help to drain off the frustrations and humiliations associated with the
social system. All-night dances end at dawn with the challenge dances
(*dokuk*) between men who dash back and forth in pairs across the
dance place brandishing swords at each other.

There is also a rattan switch dance (*dengalome*) between young
men, in which one partner stands as impassively as possible with one
leg thrust forward while the other dancer, after many preliminary
feints and flourishes with a rattan switch, hits him with as much force
as possible on the shin bone. From one to five blows are given and then
the partners change roles. It is significant in relation to the general gra-
§ 5 vity with which bloodshed is regarded that drawing blood is bad form
and count for offense. Anyone who draws blood by mistake usually be-
comes so apologetic.

Such switch dances sometimes become expressions of intervillage
hostility so that series of partners are often from two opposing villages.
The degree to which this dance counts is really a hostile act is evident
from the number of older people who tend to discourage it and from
§ 5 the fact that the accompanying gongs are played in the rapid, staccato
fashion used in times of crisis. It would be a mistake to interpret the
dance as primarily an exercise in physical fortitude, although forti-
• 187 tude in this case is a matter of pride. Fortitude is not a particularly

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prized virtue in the culture, as we have seen in connection with the education of children and as was abundantly evidenced in cases of illness and wounds. An interesting episode happened one day when an older financier, Malimoi, suggested dancing with young men in this fashion, but offered to pay two cents for each blow instead of receiving return blows. There was some debate among the young men as to the worth of this offer and it was finally rejected. This was apparently too new an extension of the aggression-wealth concept to be generally acceptable.

In the delivery of large dowry payments (*mailing*) there is a mock verbal battle in which the female kin of the wife and husband exchange insults about the value of the gifts being given. The men often join these debates. Frequently they are purely formal and are carried out in a mood of chaffing good humor and with much amusement. At other times there may be serious ill feeling expressed and a genuine attempt made to shame the husband and his kin into more generous gifts to the carriers of the dowry payments.

When feelings become intense, particularly between two kin, a dramatic expression of hostility is to swear a curse against one's opponent. These curses vary from mild pronouncements of noncooperation in the future to actual death penalties by leprosy or some other form of dread disease. These curses can be removed by countersacrifices, and usually are, when peace is restored. They are pronounced seemingly in the heat of a quarrel and are subsequently regretted. The curse placed on Fantan by his wife (see autobiography, page 374) is a case in point.

WEALTH CONTESTS

The expression of hostility through wealth has been touched upon in connection with marriage. There are two other forms of institutionalized wealth combats. One is a sort of wealth contest called *tasab* and the other is a type of fine by challenge and shame called *kalabet*. Both of these devices are used only rarely. The realistic hardheadedness of the Atimelang financier does not foster any abuse of these devices.

No wealth contests (*tasab*) occurred during my period of residence in the village, so that I am dependent upon hearsay accounts. During eighteen months there were, however, at least two such threats, which did not materialize. Within the last twenty years probably not more than three such outbursts have occurred in the Five Villages. A condensed and simplified account of one of the most elaborate of these wealth contests is given below.

Maleata was a young man who had married Malimoi's sister, Kol-

719 635 821 than hardwooded, practical devices for safeguarding property. Coconut trees are headed with sharp, downward-projecting bamboo cutters which require considerable time and effort to take off. They are purely mechanical guards intended to delay a thief long enough so that the owner will have a chance to discover him.

[744] Ripening crops, particularly those in more remote fields, are guarded by the owner himself, who will not hesitate to shoot night marauders. Many houses have a trap door at the head of the entrance ladder, which can be closed at night. Casual and unintentional entrance into a deserted house is discouraged by a latework of green branches, which serves as a sort of "no trespass" sign. This prevents an intruder from pleading innocence should he be seen entering a house. All these very practical protections, which are used just as frequently as the supernatural ones, suggest that the Atimelangese does not rely to any great extent on supernaturalism for protection or vengeance against human beings. This does not mean that supernatural beings cannot protect or harm a human, but that human beings do not employ supernaturalism against one another to the extent that peoples in some other areas do. To be efficacious a system of automatically functioning curses would require a population whose sanctions were weighted more on the side of guilt than of shame. That curses are so usually trusted bears once more on the point previously made that there is no very marked internalization of moral [317] strictures. That curses are so important causes one to suspect that the negative aspects of personal relationships may be as casual and shallow as the positive ones have been diagnosed as being. In the overgeneralized [46] phraseology sometimes used one might say that modal personality in Atimelang does not have a paranoid trend.

771 In this connection also, people's relationships to a whole variety of evil spirits (*kavi*, *lolin*), wealth-bringing spirits (*nova*), and familiar spirits (*tlmang*) are in many instances casual and expedient. Every individual has one or more of these spirits whom he should placate. With [776] the exception of a few specialists, like seers and prophets of the type described in Rilpada's and Malehaka's autobiographies, people ignore supernatural relationships until some misfortune occurs or some service is required. For instance, the village guardian spirit (*alemai*) of Atimelang had had no carvings and sacrifices made for it in about sixteen years. In 1938 two others of the Five Villages made the proper sacrifices. This, combined with my obvious interest, finally led the Atimelangers to perform the ritual that theoretically should be performed every year or two. Similarly, men will completely ignore for many years the supernatural beings they have inherited from their parents until some mishap

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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or undertaking reminds them that an image should be carved and fed. It was said previously in connection with skills that the carvings of such spirits are usually crudely done, and after the sacrifices they are ignored and often allowed to rot away.

CONCLUSIONS

The attitude toward carvings might lead some people to the generalization that the Atiemkangeri' attitude is spiritual rather than materialistic, that they worship the essence and not the substance. When we look at all the evidence presented to date, a preferable interpretation might be that the Atiemkangeri are as exploitative in their relationship to the supernatural as they are to humans and that only a threat of danger makes them piacatory.

A linguistic hint concerning their attitude toward supernatural beings may be contained in the generic term for them, good-bad (*kangberke*), which suggests a parallel to the positive-negative aspects of human relationships. If we consider all supernaturalism as projections of the current attitudes of a group of people plus varying amounts of wishful thinking, we have in the foregoing description of religion an epitome of the modal personality of Atiemkang. It is as though the group itself gave us in its religious beliefs and practices at least a clue to those generalizations about personality for which we are searching. Again, this generalization must not be interpreted as characterizing all Atiemkangeri. Maleleka's autobiography and dreams, and to a lesser extent Rilpeda's, indicate that there are individuals who use the concepts of the supernatural for purposes of projecting all their desires for nurturing and solicitous relationships. They call their familiar spirits "friends" and consider them the sources of advice, gifts, and power. In Atiemkang I suspect that these are the people who more than any others serve to keep alive religious activities and speculations.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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157 marry a maternal nephew, Malokka is pushed into an unsatisfactory marriage and is filled with fear and hatred of women. Fantan is still very young, but he is on his way to as many marriages as he can afford. Two of these cases, Rilpada and Malokka, can be called latent homosexuals, a tendency that is subtly channeled into their vocations, where it is commercialized in their relationship to supernatural beings.

On the side of affectivity they all differ from the women. But the men are alike in that none of them makes a satisfactory affective relationship with anyone. They are all dominated by greed, covetousness, and jealousy, and none of them has the necessary emotional equipment to be a good parent. Fantan is a possible exception.

83 The development of these four men differs chiefly because of differences in parental care. The case of Rilpada is the most striking. His father was decidedly atypical, having risen from slave status by dint of great pugnacity. The effect on Rilpada was crushing, and he in turn denies himself the opportunity to become a parent. Thus the cycle continues.

In short, it can be seen from these autobiographies that the character structure is strikingly influenced by at least one variable — the differences in parental care. The roles of the mothers in all four instances run more closely parallel. The differences are supplied by the fathers.

157 A second question emerges from the perusal of these autobiogra-
81 phies: What kind of institutions can be utilized by individuals having this basic personality structure? In this connection, we must note a general lack of interest in altering or idealizing the environment and an absence of enterprise and artistic creation. Interest in the outer world is lacking. This would seem to follow from the poor maternal care. The route by which this result is reached is somewhat circuitous. Bad maternal care means that the interest of the individual remains focused on human objects, he never comes making demands on them. Instead he remains fixated on the frustrating objects, which results in short-circuiting all resources. He cannot take any interest in scenery, either in applying it to human needs or in fixing the enjoyment of it in permanent artistic forms. The initial confidence in scenery is lacking.

157 A second result of this basic personality structure is the necessity to
82 select for stress or to create institutions that will prevent the entire
83 society from falling apart. This society is anarchic enough, and the absence of a few barricades here and there would result in its collapse. These defenses are to be found in the general fear of aggression, the ego being too feeble to tolerate it. A second factor lies in venting the co-

There meals a day is the symbol of adulthood. It is significant that food as a unique symbol should be used at the time that adult sex drives and financial responsibilities first become pressing.

This situation at the end of a long series of childhood experiences probably helps to set the wife as a mother figure. The wife, like the mother, is the responsible provider of food. A high degree of identification between the parent-child and husband-wife relation is actually formalized and valued in the culture. When elder men lecture a young couple who have quarrelled, they invariably tell the young woman that she should be a mother to her husband and tell the young man that he should be a father to his wife. One of the strongest expressions of this sentiment was given by a young informant who may have made the identification a little more strongly than was customary.

> When we like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and call out wrong "mothers."

The mother is obviously the provider but, as we have seen, she is an unsuitable one in many cases. It is not surprising therefore to find the relationship between spouses a prominent and unstressful one. Even though the whole weight of the masculine financial system rests to stabilize marriage, Arizona reports average approximately 1.9 divorces apiece. This seems a high average when one considers the elaborate and cumbersome ceremony required in divorce.

So far I have been concerned with sketching briefly some of the hunger references of childhood, the associated restrictive disciplines of adults, and the devices through which the culture somewhat negatively permits children to satisfy this basic need. There has been some indication how all of these affect human relationships. I should like to turn now to a series of more circumscribed food attitudes and behavior.

The first and most striking is sacrifice, which is a matter of almost daily experience, representing practically all relationships to the supernatural. The word for sacrifice means literally "to feed," and every supernatural object is so pleased. Individual and village malicious spirits, the graves of the dead, the spirits of sorcerers who have maltreated a field, invisible-bringing supernaturals, are all given their share of chicken blood, rice, and pig meat. Realistically enough, the offering is small and purely symbolic. The bulk of the sacrificial food is consumed by the people. In myths the sky heroes are always fed rice, millet, and eggs. Their revivification is achieved by propping a pot of millet over their heads. The building of lineage houses must be accompanied by feasts at every stage of construction, and its importance is proportional to the number of pigs slaughtered in the course of building it. Newly purchased gongs or medicine must be fed. It is, in fact, difficult to find any aspect of religious and social ceremonial which does not involve "feeding." In this connection it is not without significa-

[1] Blood bonds drawn and so summary.

2: DeBeats E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF1 Alor OF1

upon that throughout Indonesia is the concept of man's creation from reddish clay. In Alorese long this widespread motif is altered so that man is created from reddish rice and corn meal, that is, man is made from food.

Alor food, rather than native currencies, is generally considered adequate pay for labor. The guest-workers who help cultivate a large rice field, who assist in erecting a lineage house, who attend ceremonial funeral ceremonies, or who participate in similar ceremonial activities are all fed in return for their participation. When cooperative groups are formed for work in fields, the host of the day must furnish the midday meal.

There are other attitudes toward food which are perhaps less dramatic and incisive considered, but just as telling. If women are pounding rice or corn, any kernel which falls from the mortar is carefully picked up. Children of five or six have already learned this attitude and are as scrupulous as the adults of both sexes. A single loose bill in a game during shelling will be scrupulously by children as well as adults. In clearing ground even cultivated food plants will be carefully preserved. The meticulous fashion in which all food residue are saved and used does not coincide with any animal economy.

The natives also refer frequently to the annual "hungry period." This is the end of the dry season when there is no annual meat but only a few of the preferred foods. For a month or two natives depend more on camotes and sweet potatoes than on corn. Yet the natives phrase this as a period of food excess. In addition there were references to periods of famine as though they were an ever present threat. Careful inquiry revealed only two periods of shortage within the memories of people between forty and fifty. Both of these were due to factors which had disorganized the community so that for one reason the fields had not been scientifically planted and so carefully weeded as a community. There is no doubt that food, especially of the preferred sort, was scarce on these two occasions, but it was procurable by purchase in nearby communities and there is no evidence that anyone died of hunger. There is, in fact, no indication that hunger is ever necessary if a proper division of foresight and industry has been exercised. Perhaps one of the best indications that the concern over food scarcity is of psychological origin and not evidence is that there is no food hunger. No one ever approaches poverty or wealth in terms of land, although there is actually great variation between consumption units in the number and fertility of fields owned. There is no dispute, strong preoccupation with wealth as shown in the culture. Data on the yield of the fields also indicate that crops are good and on the whole adequate not only to feed the consumption units but also to provide surpluses for contributions to feasts.

In addition there is a singular agricultural factor in Alor. This concerns the so-called "good years" and "bad years" which refer to alternate seasons. The way has it that there is no use planting rice fields or any outlying plots during "bad years" because rodents will eat up the crop before it can be harvested. In the "good years" there are supposed to be fewer rats and there is a chance to lay in surpluses for large feasts. The theory of alternating years of rat plagues has no basis in reality. Essentially the idea is a fiction that every other year you are the helpless victim of depredations on your food supply. As one might expect, there are

4: DuBois E-1 (1938-1939) 1941 OF1 Also OF1

a few people who ignore the theory and plow were hide or even weekend rice fields during "lay years." For the social forces were shown a rationalization of basic food attitudes in the individual. It appears to be shown an expression of infantile deprivation and help-lessness. However, it is only with the utmost caution that I would suggest in any particular case that individual psychology is the direct source of an institutionalized form.

Theft and fear of theft are standard phenomena whose implications extend beyond their significance to food, but the most common type of theft [illegible] from gardens. This may be explained on two bases: one is the early theft habits of [illegible] play groups of boys, the other is that food is one of the few types of property which [illegible] to absolutely identified and which can be used without much fear of detection. For this reason, perhaps, one sees the use of curses against theft created more frequently to [illegible]. These curses, made by specialists, are heathen pots whose cloth top are inscribed [illegible] necessary combinations of magical objects. They are erected in fields where theft has occurred or where the owner fears such an occurrence. Once there, they are supposed to work automatically. A thief would develop leprosy or some other fatal or debilitating disease, or [illegible] the owner should call the specialist to remove the curse before harvesting the field. Although these curses are widely used, they were actually so comparatively little feared among most people. Certainly they in no way effectively stop pilfering. Many people are more zealous in the fear of dependence and keep armed guard on their fields. A thief caught in the act runs the risk not only of having to pay a fine but also of being shot.

Another important food attitude is shown by the limited range of generosity in distributing it. An uninvited guest is fed, but even enough anyone who is obviously arranging his no longer asked to eat. In case a family runs short of corn or rice it has to buy or borrow from those who may have a surplus. But if food is borrowed, it is at rates of interest running as high as one hundred percent. Thus Ndola even borrowers brothers. Thus Pamela wanted a hundred ear corn bundle. He got it from his brother but had to repay it at harvest time with two ears bundles of the same size. Even loans, which at first blush appear to be gracious food distributions, are far from lavish in quantity. Each female guest brings to the feast a contribution of food. Everything brought by guests is pooled with the hosts' contributions and then redistributed so that women may carry back home but little more than they brought in the first place. Of course they do receive more in relishes, but even when the most generous of only three or four cubes of boiled pork about two inches square. However, the quantities displayed are considerable and the hosts derive satisfaction therefrom.

I have been concerned with describing a series of childhood experiences and a series of institutionalized adult food attitudes. The experiences of individual children with respect to hunger gratification and discipline vary greatly; it is to be expected, therefore, that individual adult attitudes toward food will vary in "the depth or shallowness of meaning in the individual's total economy." Mungeyo began his autobiography with early memories of a period of hunger, whereas Tikondo, who was the same age and of the same village, began the story of her childhood with quarrels between herself and other children.

2: DuBois E-3 (1938-1939) 1941 OF3 Also OF3

One way to economize and regular in making food sacrifices to his familiar spirits, another Alorese would throw bamboo that he has angered his wife. I have been concerned not with an attempt to rationalize personality among Alorese but with an attempt to show how individual childhood experiences with respect to hunger find common outlets in institutionalized fields which reinforce early satisfactions and which possess more than ignore with greater or lesser emotional energy.

Also, one must be careful not to use such terms as exclusive causal sequences. I do not believe that the childhood food experiences of the Alorese have given rise to the system of sacrifice. They have merely reinforced and made significant to many individuals that widespread Indonesian custom. I would suggest, however, that it would be very difficult to eradicate sacrifice in Alor as long as the individual symbolic value can be so high. For example, a child who has learned that the gratification of hunger is a precarious and uncertain thing may well become an adult who shows abnormal anxieties toward the waste of food, or possibly if he sees adults who already reveal these attitudes. He has learned as a child that food is hard to get, that it can be stolen, and he has had no positive training in living generously with it. In fact, the whole pattern of discipline has been weighted on the restrictive rather than permissive side. All these individual experiences are reinforced by being reflected in adult behaviors (stinginess, theft) and thereby become stable complexes that may have little relation to the reality of subsistence economy.

To avoid the possibility of simplistic interpretations, it must be stressed again that no single custom like hunger and the habits associated with its gratification will explain either the totality of the culture or the dominant and unusual personality traits of its bearers. It will be only by examining the whole variety of such individual life experiences and searching for the formalized and institutionalized cultural correlates that any progress will be made, not only in defining more sharply the interaction of personality and culture, but also in elucidating the stability of particular and value systems. Institutions which may be invested with high emotional value because of patterns in child training are not the ones which can be lightly legislated out of existence. To eliminate such institutions without altering many original methods of education, may well produce serious social and personal disturbances. The implications of these statements, if true, cannot be ignored by cultural administrators and legislators. It is possible that when we understand better our own culture we shall have learned that basic social changes of a non-disruptive nature must be anticipated in the early and intimate conditioning of children.

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